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867 forthcoming. There are several anecdotes about reproaches on this score, and in one instance a mother and a half-grown son came to blows over the matter. It was the crisis around which crystallized a hostility still effective ten years later. An additional result of adult objections to an overfree use of garden crops by children is that it may actually disrupt friendships between age-mates. Mangma's autobiography (page 204) [578] reveals the jealousy and rivalry that can develop between boys when the parents of one of them forbid foraging in their fields.

857 These objections pave the way for the thieving in which play groups of boys frequently indulge. Rilpada's autobiography (page 236) graphically presents illustrative instances. The whole system of feeding [578 155 485] fosters one of the marked intracultural tensions centering on theft and the fear of theft.

During this preadolescent play period boys may get occasional meals as guests. When a man visits a house on financial business, it is customary to set a calabash dish of food before him. Any little boys loitering [855 578] about are invited to join him. They soon learn to attach themselves to men who seem to be setting out on business trips, and in this way they [867] undoubtedly learn through absorptive processes a great deal about the role expected of them as adults. In addition, boys of approximately 883 twelve years often attach themselves to young men whom they serve much in the manner of fags. The autobiographies stress this type of relationship in several instances, indicating that it is a source of education in cultural values, for better or for worse, and that food is one of the important rewards for services rendered. The food quest is therefore a factor contributing to the acquisition of the skills expected of adult males.

857 Still other sources of food are available to boys. They may form 867 work groups (*tatul*) of from three to twelve age-mates who go to each 437 other's fields in turn to cut down or pull out weeds. Usually such labor is done only during the seasons of heavy garden work preceding the rains and about two months after the rains have begun, when weeds are plentiful. These work groups parallel those of adults. At such times, the mother acting as hostess for her child provides a midday meal of boiled corn and beans. Girls are more likely than boys to take part in such group work and to participate earlier in life. Here definitely, hunger may motivate industry in children, and thereby a tendency may be set up that helps in part to explain the presence in the society of men who are enthusiastic gardeners despite the fact that horticulture is recognized as a predominantly female activity.

855 857 During feasts the boys who help with the butchering are given some

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of its adopted parents and might live down the stigma of its origin if it proved itself adaptable and able. Once such a person had established himself as a competent adult in the community, it was considered offensive to refer to his origin. It is quite obvious that the lot of a person who has been a slave is not a particularly hard one; but that it is a source of fear to children may well be imagined. Fear of being sold into slavery may be intensified by early childhood experiences of parental desertion. The social attitude toward slavery is undoubtedly colored by experiences in early life.

A similar type of kidnapping may be a form of vengeance directed toward parents delinquent in debt payments, so that the child becomes the victim not of his own misdemeanors but of those of his parents. It is a hard lesson in group responsibility for a guiltless child. Such occurrences, however, are undoubtedly rare. My notes contain only one anecdote of this sort, but it is worth repeating for the light it casts on oblique vengeances, the persistence of hostilities, and the value of a child to parents and to strangers. The event must have occurred some twenty years ago.

Lakaseni of Dikimpe, acting for Senmani of Karieta, got a moko from some Fungwati people. It was worth only a dollar and a half, but despite persistent dunning by Lakaseni, Senmani refused to pay for it. The Fungwati people, to place pressure on Lakaseni, kidnapped his child. In retaliation Lakaseni tried to steal Senmani's eight-year-old daughter but was stopped by one of Senmani's sons-in-law. Despite the beating he received, Lakaseni returned the same day to Karieta and managed to steal another of Senmani's daughters, a child of three or four years. He took her to Fungwati and so bought his child's release.

The mother of the stolen child heard what had happened and that night tried to break into the house in Fungwati where the girl was being held. The door was securely barred but she managed to break through the house flooring. Once she was in the house, however, a group of men fought her off. Senmani himself went to Fungwati the next day and pled with his creditors, but they were adamant, saying they would release the child only when he repaid his debt with exactly the same kind of moko he had secured from them. This particular type was rare; Senmani could not find one immediately and the Fungwati people refused to give him extra time to search for it. The next day they sold the child to a distant village for a three-dollar moko. As the narrator put it, "Fungwati and Karieta had been at war and they still remembered it. Even though Senmani cried and cried, they sold his child anyhow."

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567 When Senmani heard that his child had actually been sold, he gave
627 her up, saying, "Now we won't get the child back. So we shall consider
685 her a person dead from violence and provide her with a human head
766 as her spouse." He then sent a friend to get a head from Fungwati, and the friend returned with the head of an adult man.

593 This story has some interesting facets. It cannot be said that the par-
567 ents did not care for their child, but it is significant that they were so ready to abandon her. They might have followed her to the village into which she was sold and bought her back for about four dollars. That would be the standard price increase for a second transaction on the progressive sale of a stolen child. Instead, however, they gave up the child and bought a head that must have cost them about sixty dollars, indicating that vengeance and prestige were more important to them than the child itself.

868 The opportunities for children to acquire attitudes of fear are not always so direct and drastic. Many sources of fright are more subtle and covert. For instance, if a child in racing about the uneven and stony paths of the valley stumbles and falls, the adults will shout at [illegible] in harsh and frightened fashion for his awkwardness. There is in the community a very marked fear of even this form of accidental violence or injury. Its origin is not accounted for by the natives, and the only explanation that occurs to me is a very legitimate fear of the infection that so often sets in where there are open wounds.

869 Late childhood is undoubtedly the period when individuals acquire
855 their fear of supernatural beings. Children are in full possession of the
775 speculation and gossip concerning supernatural malignancy or poisoning that surrounds many deaths. These supernatural spirits are everywhere, living near springs, trees, ravines, and rocks. It is practically impossible to avoid their habitations; all one may hope is not to offend them. Children who are their victims can be saved only by having their adult kin perform the proper sacrifices, and such sacrifices are never
[755] begrudged by adults. Long-delayed death feasts are sometimes given by men whose children's illnesses have been diagnosed as the work of angered ghosts. There is ample evidence to indicate that parents are thoroughly solicitous for the health of their children, at least within their own cultural patterns. They are less convinced and therefore willing to make an effort where European medication is concerned.

869 Similarly, during this period children must absorb fear of the spirits
775 of the violently dead, a category which includes those who have died from accidents, warfare, dysentery, smallpox, and leprosy. The child has every opportunity to observe the elaborate ceremonial and financial de-

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754 [824] those willing to discuss the matter. A dead man's tooth powdered into food or mixed with tobacco is supposed to be deadly. A fly that alights on such food will die; therefore, finding a dead fly in food offered by people whose good will one has reason to suspect, arouses suspicions of an intent to poison. All interest in this field, as in the field of witchcraft, remains on a remote plane and is stimulated only by some ill fortune. I feel quite sure there was no general pervasive malaise in this connection. [521] At a time when Maliseni and his brother were absent a good deal visiting a village on the west slope of Kalabahi Bay, people whispered that they were purchasing poison there. So far as I know, however, the matter was dropped as a subject of gossip after four or five days.

Witchcraft and poisoning are definitely not major problems and are only minor causes, among many, of illness and death. There is absolutely no attempt, such as one often finds in sorcery- and witchcraft-ridden areas, to conceal nail parings, excreta, and all personal effluvia. On page 88 there was an account of a woman who thought her husband had poisoned her by using a piece of areca-nut shell she had tossed away. In an area really preoccupied with poisoning no woman on bad terms with her husband and in a strange village would have been so careless. The interesting aspect of these matters of witchcraft and poisoning is that they are present but largely latent.

789 635 241 [57] The most frequently used form of malignant activity is the laying of curses. These, as we have already noted, may be directed by one individual against another. It is not done secretly; quite on the contrary, it constitutes a public declaration of hostility where personal relationships have reached the breaking point. More common is the impersonal use of curses, usually after one has been the victim of theft by an unknown person. Since there is very little property, except garden produce, whose owner is not generally known, most such protections against theft are to be seen in fields, near areca and coconut palms, or near the place where a child, too small to identify anyone, has been robbed. Toddlers often wear anklets with a bell or a single-strand cord belt on which coins or beads have been strung. If these are stolen, and not infrequently they are, a curse will be erected by an expert on the trail where the child usually plays. A common sight in gardens is a bamboo pole bearing one of a large possible variety of sickness insignia. These may be erected before one has been victimized, as a warning to a potential thief, or after one has been victimized, in order that the unknown thief may develop that particular illness.

685 789 An instance of such procedure may serve to make matters clearer. Fanseni Long Hair's son, a child of about two, had a coin stolen from

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his belt. Fanseni sent for Manifani, who was noted for his boldness in burying lepers. Because of this specialty he always had in his possession a few odds and ends of mats, pots, water tubes, and such things used by the people he had buried. The following morning Manifani set up a bamboo pole about five and a half feet high. The end of it was split and in the crotch he wedged a piece of the leper's mat. A man who erects such a curse should not chew areca, smoke, or have intercourse with his wife on the preceding night. Manifani was paid one cent for his services, which indicates that financial reward was scarcely the motivation for the acquisition and practice of his particular skill. That evening Fanseni took a smoldering brand, rubbed it against the foot of the bamboo pole, and told the soul of the leper to pursue the thief and give him leprosy. He then left the smoldering brand at the foot of the curse.

The practical result expected from this procedure is that the guilty person will be frightened into returning secretly the stolen object. Out of many cases of this sort I never knew one in which a curse actually served this purpose. In the case of Fanseni this certainly did not happen. The following night his wife called that she had just seen a firefly set out from near the pole. Several people rushed out and tried to follow it, since it was assumed that the firefly was the soul of the leper searching for the guilty person. Fireflies are very numerous, so the people were soon confused and gave up their attempt to follow it.

Presumably no person except the one who puts up a curse may take it down. In theory even the owner of a garden or a palm should not harvest produce until the proper person removes the curse. Actually the pole usually topples over of its own accord and is forgotten or disregarded.

Should a person develop any of the diseases for which there are curses, there is surprisingly little interest in trying to connect the illness and a specific theft. Correlatively, there is in the culture no concept of cure through confession. Repeatedly I brought up this question in relation to particular individuals only to have informants shrug off the question with a casual admission that possibly they were suffering from some curse against theft, but never have I seen curses included in divinations used to determine the sources of illness. An illness is not a source of shame, and it will be recalled that shame, not a sense of guilt, is the dominant sanction in Atimelang life.

This procedure all goes to indicate the automatic and essentially impersonal quality of curses. Also, although curses are in fairly common use and are of many varieties, they are probably no more numerous

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789 than hardheaded, practical devices for safeguarding property. Coconut
●635 trees are banded with sharp, downward-projecting bamboo collars
§21 which require considerable time and effort to take off. They are purely mechanical guards intended to delay a thief long enough so that the owner will have a chance to discover him.

[24] Ripening crops, particularly those in more remote fields, are guarded by the owner himself, who will not hesitate to shoot night marauders. Many houses have a trap door at the head of the entrance ladder, which can be closed at night. Casual and unintentional entrance into a deserted house is discouraged by a latticework of green branches, which serves as a sort of "no trespass" sign. This prevents an intruder from pleading innocence should he be seen entering a house. All these very practical protections, which are used just as frequently as the supernatural ones, suggest that the Atimelangers does not rely to any great extent on supernaturalism for protection or vengeance against human beings. This does not mean that supernatural beings cannot protect or harm a human, but that human beings do not employ supernaturalism against one another to the extent that peoples in some other areas do. To be efficacious a system of automatically functioning curses would require a population whose sanctions were weighted more on the side of guilt than of shame. That curses are so casually treated bears once more on the point previously made that there is no very marked internalization of moral
[57] strictures. That curses are so impersonal causes one to suspect that the negative aspects of personal relationships may be as casual and shallow as the positive ones have been diagnosed as being. In the overgeneralized
[58] phraseology sometimes used one might say that modal personality in Atimelang does not have a paranoid trend.

771 In this connection also, people's relationships to a whole variety of evil spirits (*kari, lolu*), wealth-bringing spirits (*neva*), and familiar spirits (*tinang*) are in many instances casual and expedient. Every indi-
[776] vidual has one or more of these spirits whom he should placate. With the exception of a few specialists, like seers and prophets of the type described in Rilpada's and Maleiaka's autobiographies, people ignore supernatural relationships until some misfortune occurs or some service is required. For instance, the village guardian spirit (*tinnai*) of Atimelang had had no carvings and sacrifices made for it in about sixteen years. In 1938 two others of the Five Villages made the proper sacrifices. This, combined with my obvious interest, finally led the Atimelangers to perform the ritual that theoretically should be performed every year or two. Similarly, men will completely ignore for many years the supernatural beings they have inherited from their parents until some mishap

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159 got another. But I shot two only. I was still small and had borrowed the bow. The others had many.

The next day about twenty of us went out again. I got the first one that day, but it was the only one I did get. The others didn't get many either, but we saw a green snake and shot it. The adults frightened the children with it. Manefani said we had better return to the village. [Question.] Neither father nor my older brother was along, but Manefani was in my Male House II and I called him father. We used our rats for the Kuya feast, and after that we didn't hunt any more.

When I was about fifteen, I built a house. It was just a small one that I had to crawl into. I had a small fireplace and slept there at night. One night someone struck the door. I thought it was an enemy and cried and cried. Then I saw it was just Maugata, who was trying to frighten me. I ran and slept with mother and father. Their house was only about a hundred and fifty yards away. The next morning I broke down my small house and burned it. Where the house had been I planted sweet potatoes. Many grew there. I went to dig and roast them whenever I was hungry. I planted sun corn there and between it the slower growing rain corn. Sweet potatoes too were plentiful. When I cut the sun corn, the rain corn was already in blossom. Then the rain corn ripened.

After a time I left this garden and went to Maletai. I was building a house there. One day while my wife was down in the ravine, I came back and saw that our house had burned down. I built another house there. At this time the people of Mainang were at war. Their enemies, the Kafoi people, came looking for people to kill. They found no one in the gardens, so they burned our house, thinking it belonged to the enemy. After that I said there was no use making houses any more since [343] people just burned them, and we had better go sleep in a rock shelter. So we lived there in a rock shelter for two years. We kept pigs there.

159 Fanalurka was building a lineage house. He came and shot my pig. My
423 wife, Fungalani, saw it and called me. I was very angry. I said, "My wife
685 is alone here and you come kill my pig. Maybe you want to sleep with my wife also?" I went to the mandur of File and he gave me a pig. Then the mandur came to litigate against Fanalurka, to make him pay for the pig I had got from him. [This is an attempt to combine the older kalukek system with the new litigation system. Mangma and the mandur both thought they could get a higher price from the killer of the pig in this way.] But when we went to the chief of Karieta, he said he knew nothing about this and that it was my fault. I had to return the pig to the mandur and pay a fine of one rupiah and one small pig. Then

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Fanalurka paid me half a Fehawa moko worth five rupiahs for the pig he had shot. When Fanalurka came and shot my pig we fought, but the old people stopped us, saying it was better to roast the pig first and that Fanalurka would pay me later.

After that I didn't want to raise pigs any more. I didn't stay at Maletai any longer but returned to Kafukhieni [where his family lived]. While we were at Kafukhieni we cultivated a garden up above the site of Old Karieta. We went every day to the garden. [This was a long distance.]

Then I built a house below Fungmia. I planted a great deal that year. Then a disease came [influenza epidemic, 1918]. Everyone was sick. I lived there alone. Fungalani [his wife] was staying in Lawatika with her family. Her father was sick and died. She was sick too. When I was sick I went to stay with my family at Kafukhieni. I sent my older brother with a pig and fifty cents to my father-in-law's burial. This disease was after the radjah was killed. In the summer they killed the radjah, and when the rains started, this disease began too.

[Question.] It was two or three years later that mother and father died. My wife hadn't yet given birth. She did not have children until after my father and older brother died. Fuimau [younger sister] was still small when our parents died. Lanmau and Matingma [younger brother and sister] were adolescent at the time. Tilamau [another sister] died before mother and father did.

When we gathered the crop in the year of the disease, my wife came to help me. There were a hundred bundles of corn. We stored it at Padalchi. When the rains came the troops arrived and made us move down to the floor of the valley. So all of us moved down [1919]. We had been down there two years when father and Malelaka died. Mother died two years later. Everyone died there. Then I went to the coast and Fungalani went to her family in Lawatika. I have already talked of this.

December 5, 1938

In Karieta when we were small we pounded up red earth [pretending it was red corn]. Then we smeared it on our bodies. Our parents said, "Go wash before you eat. You are like dogs and pigs. Go wash your hands before you come up to eat with us."

Momau, my paternal uncle, married Kolang. I went to live with them in Alurkowati. One day Momau went to Paiyope. I followed him. When we reached the Limbur River, I stood on the bank crying; so he turned back in midstream, picked me up in his arms, and carried me across. On the other bank I walked by myself. When we got to Paiyope

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things to eat. [Who cared for you most?] They were all the same; there was no one person especially who cared for me. 159X

I can't remember any more. Maybe this afternoon or tomorrow morning I'll remember more. [He sat silent for a time.]

People stole corn from our garden. We found the husks. One night we heard the corn making a noise like this, "Ko, ko, ko, pah, pah." I was sleeping with my father. He got up to see who was there. I was afraid and went over to sleep next to my mother. Father went out and threw a stone. The person thought the stone came from the other direction, and he ran right down into my father's arms. Father grabbed him by the belt, but he had just a single cord there and his loincloth was tucked into it like a woman's. Father grabbed for his hair, but his hair was cut short. The belt rope broke and the person ran away. The next morning we saw the corn broken down and we found the piece of rope and the loincloth, but we didn't know who had stolen the corn.

One night too a man from Karieta came down to steal our corn. Ours was the only corn ripe yet. Malalehi, my sister Maraima's first husband, went out in the field to watch. Three men came, but only one entered our garden and began to break off corn. My brother-in-law shot, and the arrow went right through the thigh and came out the other side. The next morning my brother-in-law followed the trail of blood. It led up to Padalehi. There was Augfani, wounded. Malalehi accused him of stealing corn. Alurkaseni too was one of the three men, although he had stayed at our house. But people urged him to steal and he had gone. However, he refused to enter our garden. Kapitan Jacob beat gongs and went up to Padalehi. One man, the wounded one, paid us a pig that was pregnant with five piglets. The other paid us a sword —and all for the corn they had stolen. [Pause.] 159X 685

One time my father wanted to buy a wife for me, although I was still small. I was about ten or twelve. Fuimai was already big and had breasts. My father asked her for a long tuber and she gave it to him. Then some people from Hatoberka came to get a spirit-bird bundle of which my father was second owner. He was paid a Vifal moko, and he used it to pay for Fuimai. I was small but I was not ashamed. I carried that moko and ran fast to take it to her. After a while I began to have a few thoughts. Whenever Fuimai came people would say, "There is your wife." When I looked at her I saw she was a big woman, and I felt ashamed. Then her father died, and the moko stayed there. I never got it back. [Question.] I could go ask for it back but I am ashamed. Besides, maybe she gave my father something in return for the moko. I don't know about the transaction because I was still small then. 159X [778]

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His wife then ran off to Karieta and fought with Fungata. They came to blows, and in ripping off Fungata's necklace, Tilamau broke it. She then came back to the house, but Fantan had meanwhile hidden himself in the servants' quarters behind my house. He told Stephanus and Nitaniel (two of my boys) to tell his wife, if she came, that he was not there. His wife arrived and went directly to the servants' room and tried to pull open the door, but Fantan held it from the inside. His wife then hid quietly around the corner of the house. When Fantan came out to see where she was, she attacked him once more. He again struck her twice on the upper thighs with the rattan switch, which he was still carrying. He raised large welts and she again drew her knife. Stephanus and Nitaniel held her and got scratched in the process. Fantan ran off around the corner of the house.

Meanwhile Thomas and Maleboi (two other servants) came running into the house to tell me of the fight and ask me to come out and stop it. Thomas hastened to explain that he was afraid to handle Fantan's wife roughly because she was pregnant. When I went out Fantan had just disappeared around the corner of the house. He circled the house and as I stood out back he dashed into my room, where he hid himself. As I came in he peered through a crack of the door, obviously very much afraid. All this quarrel was uncharacteristically quiet, with a minimum of shouting.

Tilamau sat down near the house, crying and raging. Thomas tried to tease her back into good humor but received only two hard blows for his effort. Fantan skulked on the verandah for about two hours, while his wife lay in wait for him outside. Finally toward evening she left and he also went off.

Meanwhile Fungata had already made a litigation with the chief of Dikimpe because of her broken necklace. The chief said Tilamau would have to pay a fine; but neither Tilamau, her parents, nor Fantan would pay. So the chief of Dikimpe was angry and brought the oath stone [*nawoling*] from Karieta and swore an oath, saying that they could not come to him any more to try cases. Included in his repudiation were Manifani and his brother Langmani, who were Tilamau's maternal uncles and supported her in the refusal to pay a fine. Then Fungata went to the chief of Karieta, who summoned Tilamau to attend a new trial. She refused to go.

So early Monday morning (November 21) Fungata brought her case to the tumukun. Involved at first were only Fantan, Fungata, and Tilamau. The older and more responsible people did not appear. Fantan,

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159 proached him for this he admitted that he had been home for breakfast that morning and when she spoke to him he had answered. He then went on to complain of a quarrel he was having with Manifani, Tilamau's maternal uncle. Three times to his knowledge Manifani had come 159 and helped himself to nuts from his areca tree. This was done without 423 asking or paying. The day before Manifani had come and put a leprosy 685 curse, made from the mat of a newly dead leper, on two of Fantan's trees. This was equivalent to staking out a claim to their yield. Fantan protested, but to no effect. He said he was afraid of the curse but later admitted that he had taken a long bamboo pole and removed it after Manifani left. He said that if he was poisoned he would litigate before the kapitan and the radjah. Manifani had a counterclaim against Fantan, the legitimacy of which Fantan did not admit.

November 29, 1938

159 Fantan began talking again about the leprosy curse that Manifani had put on his areca trees. After speaking for some time as though he had acted alone in the matter, it developed that he had acted with the assistance of Malikalieta, his ranking Male House and an old man of considerable influence. They went to the garden and removed the curse. They said, "If we are guilty of a misdemeanor toward Manifani, may the curse fall on us. If we are not guilty, may the curse rebound on Manifani." Kolmau, wife of Manifani's younger brother, saw them doing this and fought with them about removing the curse. She then went to Manifani and, according to Fantan, told him they had said many insulting things about him—such as that he was a poor man, that he would die soon, and that the spirits would possess him. Fantan denied that they had said all this. This was on the evening of November 27. When Manifani heard this tale from Kolmau, he made a fire and threw it with a curse toward Fantan and Malikalieta.

December 3, 1938

On November 30 Fantan went to Kalabahi. He traveled with his father-in-law, with whom he was now on perfectly good terms. He had still not spoken to his mother-in-law. "She is still making a sour face at me." Then he told with evident self-satisfaction that he had slept at home the night of December 1, after his return from Kalabahi. He said that he and his wife were happy together again. He said, "My wife does not go to her home but does meet her mother in the fields. My father-in-law comes to see us, and I ask him to eat."

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[159] up the caterpillars. There were many people and each one got only a little.

[323] The next morning Mailani [the informant's older brother] and I went to the fields. Mailani killed a bird with a stone. He gave it to me, saying that mother would cook it for us when she came. When mother arrived, we cooked and ate the bird together. Then we worked in the field and in the evening returned to the village.

One day mother and my older brothers went to the fields to work, and I stayed home to take care of the children. The children cried. Fuimau, an old woman, called, saying, "Maniakani [equivalent to our bogeyman] is coming." She frightened the children, so they stopped crying. When they cried again I told them to be quiet because Maniakani was near. Just then the village caught fire and burned up. Langmai had been sacrificing to his sacred hearth, and he had not put his fire out properly. It caught in the thatch of his house and it burned up. The whole center of the village with the lineage houses burned, and only the houses at the two ends of the village were left. There were only children in the village, because all the adults had gone off to work in the fields. We stood and cried and yelled to our parents to come. People from Alurkowati and Dikimpe came to help. Kolmani's house almost caught fire, but the people from Alurkowati and Dikimpe climbed up and put it out. All the people took everything from their houses, the corn and pigs, and set them on the edge of the village. We gave all who helped presents of corn. Tilalawati [a lineage house] burned down; all the men were away. Our house did not burn because it was at one end of the village. First a small house caught, and then Molwati [a lineage house] burned, and then the others caught fire and the food in them was destroyed. Kolwati [a lineage house] almost burned, but the people climbed up on the thatch and poured water on it. The corn that people took out of their houses was all stolen except Lonmai's, because his family came to help him, so they did not steal it. Langmai, who was [172] responsible for the fire, paid a big pig for the burning of the Maihieta [685] lineage house [Tamukwati] and for Kolhieta's lineage house [Lonwati]. But he did not pay for Tilalawati because he said he belonged to that lineage house and he would rebuild it. For a small lineage house [*rua kadawg*] also called Lonwati, he paid a small pig.

December 27, 1938

I dreamed that Padaboi came to Likma and said, "They are going to feed the Djawa moko in Rualmelang. Let us go." But Likma said, "I

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it back. We were hungry after that. I, mother, and Kawaimani went to the fields and built ourselves a small house in order to guard our corn. Every morning we would go out and find that people had come at night and stolen it. We cried, but people went right on stealing it. We had to eat very young ears, husks and all. Manimai didn't sleep at night. He would just watch the field. He would call, saying, "Children, are people stealing your corn? Every morning we see that people have come and stolen corn. Every morning we cry, but people have no pity and steal anyhow." [This public announcement was to produce shame in the thief, but care was taken to make accusations anonymous.]

[The accounts in this whole session were given in a serious, expressionless monotone. The only emotional expression was laughter over Falepangmai's mistakes. This was definitely the story of a person of little standing in the group and was told without effort to conceal the fact.]

March 12, 1939

[I asked whether she had dreamed last night and she told the following.] You were about to return to your country, and all the women wept. So you said, "I shall come back in two months; I am going for only two months." All the women said, "Oh, you are only lying to us. You had better stay here." Then you went away. [I doubt that this dream is authentic.]

When I was about fourteen, I and Kolata played together a lot, and whenever we were hungry we came back to the house to eat. We played and ate, played and ate. The two of us lived in a garden house, just the two of us. We slept there. At night we were afraid and slept through [i.e., did not get up to cook and talk as is usual]. One night someone must have come to our house while we slept. They ate up the corn that we had prepared and left in the pot. They put back the husks and covered the pot. We didn't know who. This went on night after night, and we were afraid. So we decided to sleep in the loft and take the pot of food up with us. In the morning we came down to eat in the main room.

Once Kolata and I went to play at Falingfokung. Djetmani came along beating a piece of metal. He said, "This is a moko for the bride-price of the two of you. I am going to buy you both. Tonight come to my house and cook for me and I shall eat." We were angry and told our parents. Our mothers were angry with him and said he could not play with us any more. But Djetmani came back to play with us anyhow, and our parents were angry and said we could not play with

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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159 like me. She would come to fondle my child. I would say to her, "Why do you always come to fondle my child?" It was I who fought with her. She liked me by then. When we fought I said, "If it hadn't been for me, perhaps your husband would not have had any children. We are both women, but you had only one child and it died. How is it that our husband doesn't help me work in the fields? If he wanted to help me, he would care for the child so that I could go work in the fields." My child fell sick, so I went to stay at the Lonwati lineage house with Lakakalieta and Kolkalieta [a maternal uncle and his wife]. I stayed and stayed, until the child was a little better. Then I went to stay with Padakalieta. After that Langmai built a field house in Old Atimelang, and we lived there together.

Before my child was sick Langmai built a field house in Atimelang. Fiyekalieta and Lankalieta came to stay with me there. One day Lankalieta set our house afire [by mistake]. As a result the village burned 685 down. I paid a large pig for the destruction of Kolwati [a lineage house]. For another lineage house I also paid a large pig. I paid for all the large houses. [Compare Tilapada's account, December 26.] When Langmai wanted to make me another field house in Atimelang, the people said, "You have burned the village. If you stay here, you will get sick." We said, "Even if we are sick, we are going to make our house here. This is our village." But we didn't get sick.

While we were living in Atimelang, Langmai was sick and almost died. His first wife, Lonmale, took him to Rualmasang, but he didn't get well fast. So Lonmale took him to Alurkowati. Padamai took my son, who was still small, to see his father. Langmai wept and wept when he saw his son. Late in the evening Padamai brought the child home. I said, "How is it that you come home when the sun has almost set, and haven't brought the child in a carrying scarf but only in your bare arms?" I was angry with him. After this Langmai was no longer happy in Alurkowati. He thought, "Perhaps I shall die here before seeing my wife and child." Then Langmai moved to Puorkaivi, where there was an empty field house. I was there cutting weeds. I didn't know he was near, and he didn't see the smoke of my fire. That evening I went back to the village. People told me that Langmai and Lon-
159 male were there at Puorkaivi. That night Langmai dreamed. Someone
735 came to him and said, "People who fall from high areca palms must die.
[77] However, your medicine is at the root of the eucalyptus tree near Manifula. Go fetch it; pound it up, soak it in water, and drink it. Then you will urinate. In a day or two your body will be as strong as usual."

2: DuBois E-5 (1938-1939) 1941 OF5 Alor OF5

181 a few people who ignore the theory and plant extra corn fields or even occasional rice fields
28 during "rat years." Yet the social fiction seems almost a rationalization of basic food attitudes
241 in the individual. It appears to be almost an expression of infantile deprivation and helplessness. However, it is only with the utmost caution that I would suggest in any particular case that individual psychology is the direct source of an institutionalized form.

685 Theft and fear of theft are ramified phenomena whose implications extend beyond their
181 application to food, but the most common type of theft is from gardens. This may be ex-
789 plained on two bases: one is the early theft habits of foraging play groups of boys; the other is that food is one of the few types of property which cannot be absolutely identified and which can be used without much fear of detection. For these reasons, perhaps, one sees the use of curses against theft erected most frequently in fields. These curses, made by specialists, are bamboo poles into whose cleft top are inserted the necessary combinations of magical objects. They are erected in fields where theft has occurred or where the owner fears such an occurrence. Once there, they are supposed to work automatically. A thief would develop leprosy or some other fatal or debilitating illness, and even the owner should call the specialist to remove the curse before harvesting the field. Although these curses are widely used, they seem actually to engender very little fear among most people. Certainly they in no way effectively stop pilfering. Many people are more realistic in the face of depredations and keep armed guard on their fields. A thief caught in the act runs the risk not only of having to pay a fine but also of being shot.

431 Another important food attitude is shown by the limited range of generosity in dis-
42 tributing it. An occasional guest is fed, but soon enough anyone who is obviously sponging is no longer asked to eat. In case a family runs short of corn or rice it has to buy or borrow from those who may have a surplus. But if food is borrowed, it is at rates of interest running as high as one hundred percent. This holds even between brothers. Thus Fanseni wanted a hundred-ear corn bundle. He got it from his brother but had to repay it at harvest time with two corn bundles of the same size. Even feasts, which at first blush appear to be generous food distributions, are far from lavish in actuality. Each female guest brings to the feast a contribution of food. Everything brought by guests is pooled with the hosts' contributions and then redistributed so that women may carry back home but little more than they brought in the first place. Of course they do receive meat in addition, but most often the meat consists of only three or four cubes of boiled pork about two inches square. However, the quantities displayed are considerable and the hosts derive satisfaction therefrom.

181 I have been concerned with describing a series of childhood experiences and a series of
159 institutionalized adult food attitudes. The experiences of individual children with respect to
155 hunger gratifications and disciplines vary greatly; it is to be expected, therefore, that in adults these cultural attitudes toward food will vary in "the depth or shallowness of meaning in the individual's total economy." Mangma began his autobiography with early memories of a period of hunger, whereas Tilapada, who was the same age and of the same village, began the story of her childhood with quarrels between herself and other children.